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INTRODUCTION: SOUND UNMADE

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28 February 2014

Foreign soldiers, wearing plain green battle fatigues and brandishing automatic firearms, turned up in cities across Crimea, which was, at the time, part of Ukraine. When questioned by locals, the men said they were there to protect the people and maintain public order, but refused to say where they were from or who they were working for. Yet these “little green men,” as they came to be known, were understood by virtually everyone, both inside and outside Crimea, to be Russian forces. By way of indirect confirmation, Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar TV stations were blocked around the time of the soldiers’ arrival, and then, with no explanation, replaced by Russian ones.¹ After a standoff with the soldiers, and with Russia’s enormous Baltic Fleet looming in Sevastopol’s harbor, Ukrainians surrendered government buildings without a shot being fired.² A tense silence was the soundtrack for Russia’s annexation of

¹ John Biersack and Shannon O’Lear, “The Geopolitics of Russia’s Annexation of Crimea: Narratives, Identity, Silences, and Energy,” *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 55/3 (2014), 247–69; here 249.

² The silence of the unidentified soldiers, and of their weapons, became a journalistic trope. The militia arrived in Crimea from 28 February 2014; Russia’s president Vladimir Putin acknowledged them as Russian a few weeks later on 18 March in a speech made at the Kremlin. During this speech, which was followed by a ceremony marking Crimea’s (and Sevastopol’s) unification with Russia, Putin rejected claims of Russian aggression by calling attention to the fact that no shot had been fired. However, a few hours after his speech, two Ukrainian soldiers were shot by Russian snipers, one fatally; see Shaun Walker and Ian Traynor, “Putin Confirms Crimea Annexation as Ukraine Soldier Becomes First Casualty,” *The Guardian* (19 Mar. 2014), <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/18/putin-confirms-annexation-crimea-ukrainian-soldier-casualty>>, accessed 5 Apr. 2017.

Crimea.³ As is well known, a referendum followed shortly afterward in which Crimeans voted (apparently overwhelmingly) to become part of Russia—although at least one group, the Crimean Tatars, were variously prevented from and pressured into voting.⁴ Interpreting for baffled foreign onlookers, anthropologist Alexei Yurchak described the annexation as enacting a double vision: because Russia implicitly acknowledged Crimea as Ukrainian, it had to stake its claim to the peninsula through use of “non-Russian” militia.⁵ It was an “occupation staged as a non-occupation,” an original piece of political theater in which the apparently stateless soldiers, with their stubbornly taciturn behavior, took leading roles. Their silence signaled not the absence of sound, but was the means for a violent operation, subtly buffered against a likely backlash from local and international powers.

20 March 2003

Another twenty-first-century act of war, one altogether louder in execution, calls our attention to sound: in this case to a continuous rumble, punctuated by ripples of machine-gun fire and the thud of missiles (so-called smart bombs) falling from the night sky. As many as 3,000 of these bombs were launched over Baghdad in a single morning as the Shock and Awe campaign of Iraq began. The first salvos, fired before dawn, were heard around the world as news stations relayed real-time sounds and pictures. In anticipation of the event, TV broadcasts flitted between newsrooms and static, long-shot views of dimly lit Iraqi cityscapes in which the only sign of human presence was the flow of traffic along highways. The eyes and ears of the global media were thus trained, permitting spectators everywhere to witness the official beginning of the war.⁶ For most

³ Legal scholar Monica Eppinger characterized unfolding events as “quiet horror” (using the Russian idiom *tikhii uzhas*); see her article “Silencing and Backtalk: Scenes from the Crimean Occupation,” *Anthropoliteia*, published online on 16 Mar. 2014, <<http://anthropoliteia.net>>, accessed 10 Feb. 2016.

⁴ As Eppinger explained at the time, Crimean Tatars were intimidated in the days before the referendum: they were singled out by having their doors marked; some Tatars had their passports taken from them by the Russian forces until after the ballot, thus depriving them of a means of participation in the vote. At the same time, and perhaps in response to intimidation tactics—which also included the abduction of community leaders—many Tatars publicly boycotted the referendum, in order to cast doubt on the validity of its outcome. See *Ibid.* and United Nations, 7144th Meeting of the Security Council, Agenda: “Letter dated 28 Feb. 2014 from the Permanent Representative of Ukraine [. . .]” S/PV.7144 (19 Mar. 2014), 6.

⁵ Alexei Yurchak, “Little Green Men: Russia, Ukraine and Post-Soviet Sovereignty,” *Anthropoliteia*, published online on 31 Mar. 2014, <<http://anthropoliteia.net>>, accessed 10 Feb. 2016.

⁶ The events described here took place in the early hours of the morning in Baghdad on 20 March 2003 and marked the beginning of the Iraq War in the popular imagination; but the US-led coalition’s military campaign began the day before, with the dropping of “bunker buster” missiles over an industrial complex on the outskirts of Baghdad. On media coverage of the opening of the

of the survivors—as many as 7,183 Iraqis were killed by the US-led coalition during the six-week invasion—the event was, of course, never to be forgotten.⁷ Yet the invasion created abiding memories for others around the world, memories sealed by the war's real-time visibility and audibility. Then-live commentaries are now available online, furnishing an archive of history in the making. Available for endless rewatching, these broadcasts draw attention to images and sounds being synchronous with unfolding events. Typical in this respect was the voice-over provided by CNN, which supplied eager reminders of the liveness of rolling pictures. Yet when the first bombs were launched, the station's anchor fell silent, just after he had encouraged viewers to “listen in.”⁸

10 October 1854

“Every instant in the darkness was broken by a flash which had all the effect of summer lightning—then came darkness again, and in a few seconds a fainter flash denoted the bursting of a shell.”⁹ Thus William Howard Russell described one night at the height of the mid-nineteenth-century Crimean War: a night during which British soldiers dug trenches near Sevastopol to defend themselves against an imminent Russian onslaught. Conjuring the scene for readers of *The Times*, Russell appealed to audiovisual conditions of uncertainty and suspense. Seen just before they were heard, the artillery flashes projected noise into the distance; they created an uneasy silence in the British camp, affording “a strange contrast to the constant roar of the Russian batteries, [and] to the music and trumpet calls and the lively noises of the encampment of our allies.” These nearby allies—within earshot, but out of communicative reach—were the French: their military bands played into the night, as though unaware of the British army's predicament. The intermittent flashes eventually revealed the enemy's infantry “moving silently towards our works”; yet the moment of mutual recognition, when the Russians finally “ascertained that we had discovered their approach,” was delayed, prolonging the anxious silence. At 1:25 a.m. the moment came. Russell marked it with a sudden increase in textual amplitude: “The batteries behind them were livid with incessant flashes, and the roar of shot and shell filled the air, mingled with the constant ‘ping-pinging’ of rifle and musket balls.”

Iraq War, see Andrew Hoskins and Ben O'Loughlin, *War and Media: The Emergence of Diffused War* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), 31–34.

⁷ <<https://www.iraqbodycount.org/database>>, accessed 5 Apr. 2016.

⁸ “‘Shock and Awe’ The Beginning of the 2003 Invasion of Iraq (CNN Live Coverage),” posted by user “ytykg” on 19 Mar. 2013, <<https://youtu.be/f7iorfwcmeY>>, accessed 10 Feb. 2016; the “listen in” comment comes at 40:38.

⁹ William Howard Russell, “The War; The British Expedition; The Siege of Sebastopol (From Our Special Correspondent),” *The Times* (London, 28 Oct. 1854), 7, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/archive>, accessed 18 Mar. 2016.

This action finally stirred the French, who “on our left got under arms, and the rattle of drums and the shrill blast of trumpets were heard amid the roar of cannon and small arms. For nearly half-an-hour this din lasted, till all of a sudden a ringing cheer was audible on our right, rising through the turmoil.”¹⁰

Wartime Sound

The sounds of war inhabit a vast, though not always clamorous, domain. The three scenes just described outline only some of the ways in which war and sound might interact. But they begin to suggest a wider point: that human experiences of war and its acoustic realities inevitably vary according to place, time, and, most importantly, political situation. This book explores one such node of attention, the sounds of the Crimean War (1853–56); in particular, it surveys the breadth and complexity of the historical experiences those sounds can recall for us now. The Crimean War was an international conflict, involving the clash of the Russian Empire with the British, French, and Ottoman Empires, backed up by forces representing would-be nations such as Italy and Poland. The allies’ geopolitical aim was to reduce Russian influence over Ottoman territories. One origin for the war can be found in a violent struggle between Catholic and Orthodox Christians for control over the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, then part of the Ottoman Empire.¹¹ Britain, Russia, and France were all in the habit of using the presence of Christians in the Holy Lands to assert political influence over the Ottomans, whose future as an empire had become a pressing concern for many powers by the mid-century. The so-called Eastern Question was everywhere debated among the elites of Western Europe: its essential concern was to forestall Russian domination over trade routes across the Black Sea.¹² The Crimean War suggested one solution to the problem. Taking impetus from the Ottomans’ latest war against Russia, which began in late 1853—there had been periodic conflicts between them since the late seventeenth century—Britain, France and others weighed in on the Ottomans’ side in early 1854.

Why investigate the sounds of this particular war? One reason can be found in the historical lineages that connect war, sound, and our present-day

¹⁰ For all short quotations in this paragraph and the previous one, see *ibid.*

¹¹ There are many different explanations for the outbreak of the Crimean War; the religious interpretation presented here has recently been explored by Orlando Figes, *The Crimean War: A History* (London: Penguin, 2010), 1–22. See also Stefanie Markovits, *The Crimean War in the British Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 6–12.

¹² For a history of the issue, see Lucien J. Frary and Mara Kozelsky, eds., *Russian-Ottoman Borderlands: The Eastern Question Reconsidered* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014).

involvement with media culture. The Crimean War is an ancestor to recent global conflicts—a precedent for latter-day, post-imperial interventionist campaigns—and is thus one available historical vehicle for thinking through relationships between war, sound, and geopolitical determinations. Nowadays it has become commonplace to recognize some aspects of the war that herald “modern” warfare: vast armies fought lengthy battles of attrition on multiple, widely separated fronts (of which the Crimean peninsula was the most active); some battles involved early trench warfare; the war saw the first military use of a railroad and steam engines.¹³ Even more pertinent is the war’s “climate of representation” (to borrow Lisa Gitelman’s phrase), as people in Britain and France, and to a lesser extent in Russia and Turkey, received news of battles at hitherto unknown speeds, thanks to photography, telegraphy, and the new, though still limited, deployment of war correspondents for the newspaper press.¹⁴ This host of new technologies allowing distant spectatorship has prompted twenty-first-century historians to propose that the Crimean War was the “first media war.”¹⁵ The sheer proliferation of the war’s media output, and the abundance of archival traces left in their wake, provide the contributors to this book with an opportunity: to scrutinize the role of media technology in the historical and geopolitical construal of wartime sound.

This opportunity in turn brings up another question that readers of this book might ask: why study war’s sounds at all? Our collective aim, which in part depends on our common focus on the Crimean War’s sonic archive, is to interrogate the political nature of histories of sound. In other words, the contributors—musicologists, ethnomusicologists, historians, and literary scholars—address a broad set of problems involved in constructing knowledge about the sounds of

¹³ See Brian Cooke, *The Grand Crimean Central Railway: The Story of the Railway Built by the British in the Crimea during the War of 1854–1856* (Knutsford: Cavalier House, 1997).

¹⁴ London’s *Times* newspaper had used foreign correspondents on battles since the Napoleonic campaigns, but William Howard Russell reinvented the role through critical reporting on battlefield events; see Martin Conboy, *Journalism: A Critical History* (London: Sage, 2004), 117–19. Lisa Gitelman uses the phrase “climate of representation” in *Scripts, Grooves and Writing Machines: Representing Technology in the Edison Era* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 69–70.

¹⁵ Ulrich Keller has argued the case: by focusing on visual technologies, he claims the Crimean War was unprecedentedly mediatized for people in Britain and France. In metropolitan centers such as London and Paris, Crimean battles were rendered visible through the public exhibition of photographs, paintings, and panoramas; spreading outward from urban centers, battle scenes were further transmitted to imperial audiences through the domestic consumption of commemorative maps, prints, and sheet music front covers, all of which were being sold only weeks after battles had taken place. See his *The Ultimate Spectacle: A Visual History of the Crimean War* (Australia: Gordon & Breach, 2001). For a reappraisal of the book by media scholars, see Georg Maag and Martin Windisch, eds., *Der Krimkrieg als erster europäischer Medienkrieg* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2010), 7–15.

the past. The wager behind this historiographical experiment is that wars may provide a fertile ground in which to explore the politics of sensory experience, not least because wars—the Crimean War is not unique in this respect, but can nevertheless be exemplary—tend to spawn prolific and diverse archives. There are numerous scholarly explanations in circulation about why this might be so; I will return to some of them in what follows. Before doing that, though, it makes sense to outline the ways in which sonic experience was technologically mediated, and so preserved for our attention. Under certain mediatic conditions, the sounds of the Crimean War did not vanish without trace; and those that have endured sometimes reveal intimate connections between what Jonathan Sterne has termed *audile technique*—the means, subtly and variously deployed, for negotiating aural experience—and the conditions that register their traces and thus sustain them as things in the world.¹⁶

Bandwidth

2014, 2003, 1854. My opening samples hint at the necessity of being selective—and the impossibility of paying equal attention to everything—when summoning up the sounds of political events. In this respect wars are not exceptional. This book strives to embrace the contingency inevitably involved. As the chapters bear out, sound history challenges us to create “lines of flight” across what remains in scattered imperial archives: to rewrite the sounds of the past in ways that not only describe but also challenge the political orders from which they emerge.¹⁷ This introduction attempts one such line of flight, charting its own idiosyncratic itinerary through the territories explored by the book, so opening out onto multiple aural perspectives. By weaving together sonic traces left in the wake of the Crimean War, I hope to introduce larger themes to do with sound and geopolitics during wartime: themes that echo through the chapters that follow.

¹⁶ Sterne used the introduced the term “audile technique” referring to institutionalized listening practices of doctors in detecting symptoms of the body and telegraphists in decoding messages, practices that were in turn influential on emerging cultures of sound reproduction in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; see Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 87–178. Since then, uses of the term have expanded to include technical means for negotiating aural knowledge and experience in a broader sense; see, for example, Ana María Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Columbia* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 3.

¹⁷ The term “line of flight” has been widely used; it comes from Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1987), 8–9.

A persistent theme will be the complex action of technical media, including musical media, in both producing and perpetuating the sounds of wartime. These sounds fall within an epoch spanned by Reuters, the first international news agency, founded in 1851. As business model, Reuters is more important now than it was then, when global news was little more than a pipe dream.¹⁸ Yet Reuters and other news media received a significant boost from the Crimean War: they defined the sensory channels made available to global audiences, acting as a major gateway for wartime sound. Vice versa, and as several contributors show, news media remained ever fluid in their response to unfolding events.¹⁹ More contemporary examples of this close interplay between media and sensory experience might be the digital satellite media that rendered Iraqi wartime audio-visibly synchronous, or the Russian signal jammers that silenced TV stations in Crimea, placing familiar news sources beyond the reach of the peninsula's inhabitants. As many readers will recall, this blackout prompted a moment in 2014 when reporting on Crimea became the site of an all-out media war between Russian and "Western" news channels.²⁰ In short, the mediascape of the early twenty-first century is filled with noises and silences, furnishing ever productive metaphors by which to structure the experiences of post-imperial campaigns of occupation and annexation.

Crimea was also the object of media scrutiny and international concern during the mid-1850s. Russell's report cited earlier typifies the perspective made available to British elites by newsprint. He plunged his readers into a media environment fundamentally different from our own. To understand how sound works here, we need to immerse ourselves in long-forgotten details that once occupied an implicit background for the sonic imaginings of the British public. In the passage cited previously, Russell relays incidents leading up to the siege of Sevastopol, one of the war's most prolonged and bloodiest episodes. The excerpt precedes his discussion of battlefield action, and follows on from a lengthy digression on the effects of military bands and their music on soldiers' wellbeing. Russell compares the constant presence of music within the French camp with the "gloom" that pervades British troops, whose instruments had been placed in store. Britain's regimental bands had been "broken up and disorganized, the men being devoted to the performance of duties for which the ambulance corps was formed."²¹ Russell thereby informs his readers that instrumentalists have been

¹⁸ Donald Read, *The Power of News: The History of Reuters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 17–18.

¹⁹ Deborah Esch has pointed out this fluidity; see her *In the Event: Reading Journalism, Reading Theory* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 1–8.

²⁰ See Mikhail D. Suslov, "'Crimea Is Ours!' Russian Popular Geopolitics in the New Media Age," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 55/6 (2014), 588–609.

²¹ Russell, "War; British Expedition," 7.

reassigned to deal with sickness and injury, giving the silence around camp grim implications. As part of a larger critique of the army, he hints at the role that music ought to play in life around the British camp (the role it does play for the French):

Every military man knows how regiments, when fatigued on the march, cheer up at strains of their band, and dress up, keep step, and walk on with animation and vigour when it is playing. At camp, I always observed with pleasure the attentive auditory who gathered every evening at the first taps of the drum to listen to the music. At Aladyn and Devno the men used to wander off to the lines of the 77th, because it had the best band in the division; and when the bands were silenced because of the prevalence of sickness and cholera, out of a humane regard for the feelings of the sick, the soldiers were wont to get up singing parties in their tents in lieu of their ordinary entertainment. It seemed to be an error to deprive them of a cheering band at the very time they needed it most. The military band was not meant alone for the delectation of garrison towns, or for the pleasure of officers in quarters, and the men were fairly entitled to its inspiration during the long and weary march in the enemy's country, and in the monotony of a standing camp ere the beginning of a siege.²²

This passage offers Russell's contemporaries journalistic scene setting—comparisons with previous British encampments at Aladyn and Devno (along the Varna river in present-day Bulgaria) are thrown in for good measure—and establish a lugubrious mood for what follows. His words are clearly calculated to draw attention to the plight of common soldiers. At the same time, the absence of the military band forces him to reflect on its uses. As an appeal to musical authority, “every military man knows” may seem unpromising, but the numerous practical functions Russell attributes to the band are borne out by historical accounts: it raised morale, kept soldiers in lockstep, provided entertainment (and mitigated the endemic boredom), and gave soldiers and officers the chance to interact.²³ Deeply embedded within army life, the military band also provided an important connection between the army and society at large—serving among other things as a conspicuous tool for recruitment (a function nowadays fulfilled by khaki-clad representatives assigned to shopping malls and by the extensive PR machines of national armies). In other words, the military band

²² Ibid.

²³ See Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, *Music and the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 240–53.

fulfilled several functions within society during the Crimean War: not only in Britain, but, as chapters in this book demonstrate, in many other places besides.

This brief dip into Russell's journalism can suggest many things. First, war-time around 1850 fundamentally resists straightforward comparison with our own wartimes; and that such comparisons, when they are made, ought to take historical media into account. The long-forgotten interplay between military bands and newsprint might encourage us to think afresh about the mediatic conditions that underwrite our own experiences of wartime sound. Secondly, and more obviously, Russell draws our attention to the importance of the military band, both in print and in the flesh. One undeniable (if not unexpected) observation made by this book is that the military band was central to representations of the Crimean War. Yet the contributors go further, considering the band's role as a medium for channeling sounds and shaping sensory experience on a transnational scale.

Some of the milestones in the internationalization of the band are well known. For example, in 1828 Giuseppe Donizetti (brother of Gaetano, about to become world famous as an opera composer) was recruited by the Ottoman imperial court. He was tasked with instituting a European-style military band to replace Janissary marching bands—which had once struck fear into the hearts of opposing armies, and had until more recently served as an exotic musical sideline for listeners to European operas, symphonies, and dance music. Donizetti trained a generation of Ottoman musicians to read and play from Western notation.²⁴ The Ottoman acquisition of such a figure reveals a wider point about the military band up to and beyond the mid-century. As the lavish possessions of national and imperial courts, bands were a resonant and mobile means for the projection of geopolitical power, both within and beyond the spaces of empire.

Although the band was an important medium of display, it could be feeble on occasion. This much has already been observed in Russell's report, in which the band created a jarring impression in the context of battlefield action: the lively music of the French camp had a demoralizing effect on the British as they prepared to fight the Russians.²⁵ Accounts of everyday experiences of bands in

²⁴ See contributions by John Morgan O'Connell and Ruhi Ayangil in *Giuseppe Donizetti pas-cià: Traiettorie musicali e storiche tra Italia e Turchia*, ed. Federico Spinetti (Bergamo, Italy: Fondazione Donizetti, 2010).

²⁵ The incongruity of music on the battlefield became a literary trope, one that can also be found in Tolstoy's writings on the Crimean War; see Dina Gusejnova's chapter, "Sympathy and Synesthesia: Tolstoy's Place in the Intellectual History of Cosmopolitan Spectatorship," in this book, 7–9, 14–15. The incongruity of music on—or indifference of music to—the battlefield may suggest a nineteenth-century precursor for Michel Chion's much discussed notion of "anempathetic sound" in film; see his *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*, trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 8–9.

wartime are hard to come by, but for the most part appear at moments when sounds break down, revealing a chasm between imperial aspirations and mundane realities. Typical in this respect was the cacophony that ensued when several British bands joined forces at Scutari (Üsküdar), near Istanbul, in a rendition of “God Save the Queen” for Victoria’s birthday on 24 May 1854. The bands were evenly spread across the valley, yet no attempt was made to coordinate tuning.²⁶ The international embarrassment cued by this event, which became known as the “Scutari incident,” led to a series of institutional reforms within the army, including the inauguration of the first school dedicated to the training of military musicians.²⁷

We can continue to sketch the background for inter-imperial contact through the band by briefly considering some instrumental reforms pursued in France. In some ways, the technological solutions can be considered as an extension of the country’s imperial aims of domination and expansion. General anxiety over the state of the empire’s bands had surfaced during the 1840s, around the time Adolphe Sax conceived a series of acoustically improved instruments.²⁸ His revamped musical outfit included the saxhorn, saxtromba, saxtuba, and saxophone, each name proudly displaying his personal brand. Best-known now, the saxophone was intended to meld timbres of the trumpet and clarinet, while being powerful and versatile enough to be used in both indoor and outdoor spaces with ease.²⁹ In April 1854, a month after France declared war on Russia, Sax emerged victorious from a band competition involving direct comparison between a traditional military band and his own, technically enhanced collection of instruments. The event took place at the Champs de Mars before the eyes and ears of thousands of military and civilian spectators, including General de Rumigny, France’s minister of war. Sax’s victory led, later that year, to his becoming the official supplier of musical instruments to the French Army.³⁰

While Sax’s takeover came too late for his instruments to see service in Crimea—it took time to manufacture the quantity of instruments the army

²⁶ Barlow and Herbert, *Music and the British Military*, 140–41.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 140–46.

²⁸ In 1848, music theorist and composer George Kastner was calling for the “*amélioration complète de nos musiques militaires*” (complete improvement of our military music), writing in support of a government commission by France’s ministry of war for reform in contemporary military music. See his *Manuel général de musique militaire à l’usage des armées françaises* (Paris: Didot Frères, 1848), xiii.

²⁹ See Sax’s 1846 patent, which is included and translated in Stephen Cottrell, *The Saxophone* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 343.

³⁰ As Cottrell points out, the new sonority, tethered to the Sax trademark, catered for a culture that increasingly fed on the promise of novelty extended by the ever renewing commodity form. Cottrell, *Saxophone*, 15–22.

required—they nevertheless formed part of the international wartime soundscape. To put this point slightly differently: Sax's inventions encourage us to pay attention not only to the war's sounds as experienced by its participants, but also transformations in technical means that gave rise to wartime sound.³¹ In this sense, Sax's proto-industrial workshop in Paris might be considered the crucible within which French military music achieved a newly forceful register during the second half of the nineteenth century—a register advertised early on, and worldwide, by saxophone virtuosi such as Charles Jean-Baptiste Soualle, who gave concerts in China and Hong Kong on the “turcophone,” one of the saxophone's many early appellations.³² Soualle and others offered elite colonial audiences in Asia and Australia exoticized samples of the latest sounds to emanate from the metropolitan West—an orientalism achieved at the expense of the Ottomans, who had recently become Paris's ally in the war.

While Sax's instruments were not part of the mid-century military band, we would miss something important about an evolving medium if they were left out of account. They encourage us to embrace sounds that were not (yet) heard, or at least not widely so—potential sounds that became widespread only later on. Not all technologies were emergent and innovative, of course: the majority of those to be considered in this book were old, sewn into the fabric of the everyday long before the Crimean War began. And yet, if war is not only productive of sounds and sonic experiences, but is also a process by which technical means of perception, inscription, and dissemination are transformed, then the sounds of its nineteenth-century Crimean eruption should also include technologies that were conceived and discussed, even if they were not widely sensed or perceived. The saxophone, for example, brings closer inaudible connections between technological innovation and France's capitalist war machine, connections that would be missed if we were to focus too narrowly on the “sonic” environment. Sax's invention provides a material counterpart to the railway tracks laid down

³¹ R. Murray Schafer's notion of the soundscape (*The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* [New York: Knopf, 1977])—which he has also called “the sonic environment”—has come in for criticism in recent years, not least because soundscape suggests an objective reality that precedes the experiencing subject (albeit an evolving reality, open to modification through composition). By contrast, those who have used the term more recently have stressed the affordances between environment and the political subjectivities of listeners in fashioning sonic experience; see Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 44; and Emily Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900–1933* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002), 1; Sophia Rosenfeld, “On Being Heard: A Case for Paying Attention to the Historical Ear,” *American Historical Review* 116/2 (2011), 316–34.

³² Cottrell, *Saxophone*, 109–18.

by the British in Crimea in 1854 to transport people and goods between the nearby towns of Inkermann and Balaklava.³³ As a nascent commodity, and as a tool, the instrument projects mid-nineteenth-century empires at war.

Throughout this book, musical instruments emerge across international milieux as key technologies in the construal of wartime sound. Individual chapters show the many types, uses, and plans for instruments, and observe them intended for diverse ends—violent, symbolic, mundane. The readiness with which weapons and instruments, such as cannons and church bells, melt into each other during wartime is a long-standing historical theme.³⁴ This book shows how such insights can be extended, as we chart the ways in which instruments come to be multiply deployed and imaginatively weaponized.

Voice/Writing

Organology provides just one way to reimagine the sounds of the Crimean War, and instruments were only one means by which the war's sounds were mediated. More prolific were those that involved explicit foregrounding of linguistic modes of inscription, storage, and transmission. Voice, paper, handwriting, movable type, telegraphy: these are the technical means that the chapters gathered here most often encounter, and so most often employ, in charting the war's sounds. Taking impetus from media theory, some contributors hazard a more ambitious claim: that these verbal and graphic incarnations of sound comprise nodes within a larger network that had a broader impact on sonic experience around the midcentury. Here I am invoking Friedrich Kittler's idea of "discourse networks," which undergirded his well-known though widely contested thesis that "media determine our situation."³⁵ Less technologically weighted, and more responsive to historical events, is the notion of a "climate of representation," something that I loosely introduced in a previous discussion.³⁶ The term

³³ See Cooke, *The Grand Crimean Central Railway*.

³⁴ On continuity between weapons and media, see Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception*, trans. Patrick Camiller (London: Verso, [1984] 1989); Friedrich Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, trans and ed. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Wutz ([1986] Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999). On bells and cannon, see Edward V. Williams, *The Bells of Russia: History and Technology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 58–60; and for a more recent musical treatment of this topic, see James Q. Davies, "Instruments of Empire," in *Sound Knowledge: Music and Science in London, 1789–1851*, ed. James Q. Davies and Ellen Lockhart (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2016), 145–74.

³⁵ Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, xxxix; see also Friedrich Kittler, *Discourse Networks 1800/1900*, trans. Michael Metteer and Chris Cullens (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, [1985] 1990), 369–72.

³⁶ Gitelman, *Scripts, Grooves, and Writing Machines*, 69–70.

is borrowed from media scholar Lisa Gitelman, who uses it to characterize a later moment in the nineteenth century, when an ensemble of technologies for linguistic inscription—notably shorthand and typewriting—came to channel broader experiences of sound. According to Gitelman, these related representational techniques provided the conditions for the emergence of phonography, widely (if not exclusively) understood as the writing of the voice.³⁷

Phonography was still in the future in the 1850s, but can provide a way of taking the measure of the Crimean War's climate of representation. For example, the cultural energies that shuttled between voice, sound, and paper in the 1850s were to leave their mark on early phonography when three wax cylinders were made in London in 1890. The purpose of these cylinders, produced by the Edison Phonograph Corporation, was to raise funds for British veterans of the Light Brigade, those already mythic warriors of the Battle of Balaklava, whose dwindling number were living in destitution in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Their squalid living conditions outraged public morality.³⁸ To champion their cause, and drum up sales for the charitable initiative, the war's most famous personalities were recruited to speak, among them Florence Nightingale, the aristocratic nurse who had gone to Scutari to tend to British soldiers returning from Crimea.³⁹

In her phonograph message, Nightingale adopted a role with which she had become long familiar, as a paragon of female service to the nation.⁴⁰ Before the horn, she delivered her words with queenly pacing and precision: "When I am no longer even a memory, just a name, I hope my voice may perpetuate the great work of my life. God bless my dear old comrades of Balaklava and bring them safe to shore. Florence Nightingale." Her declamation is impressive and was no doubt thoroughly rehearsed; it may even appear sung to twenty-first-century hearers. In two aborted takes, Nightingale tripped over her words, giving lie to the notion that her elaborate diction represented her normal speech.⁴¹ Beneath the overtly Edisonian values invoked by Nightingale's recording—a fulfillment of his intended use of the phonograph for "preserving the sayings, the voices,

³⁷ Ibid., 1–20. See also Lisa Gitelman, *Always Already New: Media, History and the Data of Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), 25–88.

³⁸ Mark Bostridge, *Florence Nightingale: The Woman and Her Legend* (London: Penguin, 2009), 516.

³⁹ Nightingale implemented reforms in military hospitals, in the process becoming an international celebrity—although nowhere more so than in Britain, where she attained something like cult status. Ibid., 508–10.

⁴⁰ Markovits, *The Crimean War in British Imagination*, 98–120.

⁴¹ The authenticity of the recording has been subject to debate. Nightingale's recordings, along with the wax cylinders discussed in what follows, are preserved at the British Library; see "Florence Nightingale Cylinder 1890," catalogue number C1693/1.

and the last words of the dying members of the family, as of great men”—we can detect older vocal mediations.⁴² The recording session supposedly took place in Nightingale’s London residence, before a team of expectant technicians, the scenario itself recalling the stenographic lineages of early phonograph cultures that Gitelman and others have traced. Nightingale seems to dictate, to use the mechanism as she would a secretary; she wields her voice as a means of writing down its sound. This may seem a circuitous way of putting things, but as classicist Shane Butler has shown, since antiquity alphabetic writing has recurrently served as a conduit for the preservation of vocal sound.⁴³ While innovative in its means, in its approach to vocal writing Nightingale’s cylinder directs our attention toward longer-standing connections between sound and writing.

Equaling Nightingale in celebrity and prestige, Alfred Tennyson was also persuaded to have his voice recorded. The poet had not taken an active part in the Crimean campaign, but became inextricably associated with it through his poem “The Charge of the Light Brigade,” written in response to breaking news from Balaklava. This was one of the war’s many infamous episodes, and became so partly through the dissemination of his eponymous poem.⁴⁴ To approach the wartime climate of representation within which Tennyson’s poem appeared, we might begin with the battlefield miscommunications that precipitated the charge. On 25 October 1854, the Light Brigade received an order from Lord Raglan, commander of the British troops. The order was ambiguous and misinterpreted (perhaps willfully) by an officer, as requesting the immediate deployment of troops. The result was fatal: rather than pursue a retreating battalion, the Light Brigade undertook a frontal assault on a well-prepared line of Russian guns. A bugle sounded the advance. Not long afterward, more than 156 men were dead, missing, or mortally wounded; fewer than 200 (out of around 670) returned to the British camp with themselves and their horses intact.⁴⁵ Despite this disaster, Britain and France proceeded to victory at Balaklava. Thanks to telegraphy, the outcome of the battle relayed to London and Paris in the hours that followed. However, newspaper readers had to wait several days for corroborating reports, such as the one by William Howard Russell, who, in more than 10,000 handwritten words, sent by international post, conjured distant events for newspaper readers. Transformed through typesetting, Russell’s

⁴² For a discussion of Edison’s “library of voices,” see John M. Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 114.

⁴³ Shane Butler, *The Ancient Phonograph* (New York: Zone, 2015), 1–29. Along similar lines, Friedrich Kittler argued that one of the functions of handwriting in German romanticism was to elicit the imagined sounds of voices; see Kittler, *Discourse Networks 1800/1900*, 77–84.

⁴⁴ Markovits, *The Crimean War in the British Imagination*, 148–66.

⁴⁵ See Lara Kriegel, “Who Blew the Balaclava Bugle? The Charge of the Light Brigade and the Afterlife of the Crimean War,” *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 20 (2015), 1–17.

handwriting—and by extension his first-person “voice”—rebounded throughout London’s mid-century public sphere.

I have already tried to evoke the immensely detailed sounds conveyed by Russell’s journalism; Tennyson’s poem can be understood as a further mediation of the wartime news network, transmuting newspaper reports through heavy rhymes.⁴⁶ In turn, his poem recirculated through the pages of the British broadsheets in a quasi-official tribute to the men who had fallen. When he penned the words, Tennyson was already well known in Britain as the poet laureate. By the time he delivered the poem into the phonograph’s horn in 1890, then in his eighties, the wartime news media that facilitated the poem’s early career had been entirely effaced. The poem now fulfilled a new set of purposes, as both a charitable gesture and an authentic, collectible historical document, capturing the swan song of the wizened sage.⁴⁷ Given these changed circumstances of transmission and reception between 1854 and 1890, it would be a conceit to say we can “hear” the media networks of the Crimean War inside the fizz of the wax cylinder. Yet as this brief reconstruction of mid-century news suggests, those networks played an important role in sustaining Tennyson’s voice as an audible trace—whether we encounter it in its carefully preserved archival afterlife at the British Library Sound Archive, or much more readily in one of its many digital reincarnations online. Tennyson’s cylinder makes clear that phonography is often, if not always, remediating older sonic media, such as, in this case, those of 1850s wartime news.

The third wax cylinder provides another case of sonic remediation—as with the saxophone, by instrumental means—in showcasing Balaklava’s fateful bugle call. The cylinder comes packaged with its own historical context, its protagonist introducing himself (and the record) as follows: “I am Trumpeter Landfried, one of the surviving trumpeters at the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava. I am now going to sound the bugle that was sounded at Waterloo”—then, following a noticeable pause—“and sound the charge as was sounded at Balaklava on that very same bugle.” Then follows another, shorter pause; and then a voice (one similar to Landfried’s own, and perhaps intended not to be noticeably different) adds, “the twenty-fifth of October, Eighteen-Fifty Four.” An unidentified female voice contributes a date, time, and location—“Record made at Edison House on Northumberland Avenue, August the Second, Eighteen-Hundred and Ninety”—giving the document a final seal of authenticity before the bugle itself finally sounds. As he informs us, Landfried was indeed present on the morning of 25 October 1854; he may even have witnessed the Light Brigade’s charge.⁴⁸ But

⁴⁶ Markovits, *The Crimean War in the British Imagination*, 158–60.

⁴⁷ On the wax cylinder as a historical document, see Lisa Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge: Towards a Media History of Documents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

⁴⁸ Kriegel, “Who Blew the Balaclava Bugle?” 3.

the record misleads through omission, for Landfried did not sound the charge at Balaklava; nor was he part of the Light Brigade (exploiting the more capacious sense of the preposition in the phrase “at the charge of the Light Brigade”), but instead attached to the regiment of the 17th Lancers. Speaking more hesitantly than Nightingale and Tennyson, Landfried tells us the bugle we are about to hear was “sounded at Waterloo,” but then, after a long pause, that he will “sound the charge as it was sounded at Balaklava.” Landfried’s awkward doubling of active and passive constructions (“I will sound . . . as it was sounded”) gestures toward the bugle’s multiple players over the course of its long history. And this, together with the accretion of historical time implied by “Waterloo,” “Balaklava,” and the present (“1890”), frames the instrument as a medium that can hold on to sounds of the past. It becomes a medium able faithfully to recover sanctified sounds: in this case, sounds that precipitated the charge of hundreds of men and horses plummeting toward their destruction.

Wartime

Sounds can be made to carry far beyond war zones and so take on an urgency of communication. During 1850s wartime, particular sounds became a sustained topic in soldiers’ letters, newspapers, literary and musical works, and theatrical productions, picking up charges that were both aesthetic and ethical.⁴⁹ Along with instruments and occasionally musical notation, textually mediated sounds helped make tangible the experience of living through a war, both for combatants and for those far removed from battlefields. The duality of this experience structures the modern condition known as wartime, which, as literary scholar Mary Favret has shown, took on recognizable contours during the European experience of the Napoleonic Wars. What she calls “wartime” has a particular meaning: it was “the experience of war mediated, of time and times unmoored, of feeling intensified but adrift.”⁵⁰ Even several decades later, telegrams from Sevastopol could take many hours to arrive in London; detailed reports still took days, if not weeks, to arrive by post. As several chapters in this book suggest, this experience of wartime seems to have been an international phenomenon by the

⁴⁹ Indicative of these representational dynamics is the disclaimer for Russell’s column: “The letters of our special correspondent from the scene of war, although naturally a few days in arrear of those leading communications which reach us through the agency of the telegraph, are always replete with interest, and are calculated indeed to serve far more important purposes than those of momentary amusement.” “The Letters of Our Special Correspondent,” *The Times* (London, 21 Oct. 1854), 6.

⁵⁰ Mary Favret, *War at a Distance: Romanticism and the Making of Modern Wartime* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 9.

mid-nineteenth century. Sights and sounds of the battlefield were usually out of date, always out of time, and often felt to be so.

That circumstance is one reason for this book's interest in sound in Favret's "wartime," rather than, say, sound in warfare, or even sound in war. Our focus is meant to shift attention away from battlefields and much-studied (elite, male) military actors, toward the temporalities established by sounds in motion: temporalities that embrace civilian actors, and, crucially, help to make up for the conspicuous absence of women in discussion of war's sounds. As outlined in this book, a wider social purview is granted by our focus on the time lapse between battlefields and elsewhere: the relation between those who claimed to hear Crimea and those for whom they claimed to hear it. This book is, accordingly, organized around Crimea's manifold elsewheres. Contributors cast their auditory coordinates widely across territories and cultures, attempting to rehear the war through the ears of elites in Petersburg and London, British operagoers in Constantinople, religious leaders in the Caucasian Imamate, Latvian troops stationed in Riga, soldiers from Italy and Poland stationed in manifold theaters of war, and Tatar communities in Crimea itself. In each case we are dealing with a particular construction of wartime: an experience of temporality that, to a greater or lesser extent, permeated everyday life in territories far removed from battles.

This experience of wartime for media publics in Istanbul, or London, or Paris, or Petersburg, was clearly not the same everywhere. It may be worth pointing out here some of the differences that emerge between, say, readers of literary journals, operagoers, and sheet-music publics on the one hand; and, on the other, those whose wartime experience was "mediated" in completely different ways. Among the latter, we might include people at the periphery of metropolitan centers, whose access to information was precarious; or, in Maria Sonevsky's chapter, the indigenous communities of Crimea, for whom the destructive impact of warfare was an intimate reality; or those Ottoman subjects mentioned by Peter McMurray, people who beheld telegraph wires not only as a means of information, but also as a way to venerate the Sultan; or the Russian soldiers who waited on the Baltic coast, in appalling conditions, for an attack that never came. As Kevin Karnes's chapter relates, many of this last group did not return from the war—they either died from illness or starvation, or were endlessly redeployed as lifetime conscripts—and so seem to drift outside "wartime" altogether. The variegated wartimes that emerge from Karnes's and other chapters unfold a complex transnational soundscape, deeply enmeshed in geopolitical inequalities sustained by imperial power. These imbalances manifested themselves in many guises—in the overwhelming noises attributed to particular armies; in the supremacy often attached to Western military music; in the "unknowable silences" variously imposed

on political Others. It soon becomes clear that sounds often serve as highly mobile metaphors for geopolitical might.

Perhaps this much could have been anticipated. As the obverse of cosmopolitanism, and as its accompanying shadow, we could have expected war to reveal an unequal soundtrack to intercultural conflict.⁵¹ Celebrated studies of orientalism and imperialism during the nineteenth century have long stressed the role of music as a cipher for political power.⁵² What is more, the foundational texts of what subsequently took shape as sound studies have repeatedly underscored territorialization as a basic function of sounds of all kinds.⁵³ A more novel theme to emerge from the following pages, however, is the role of sound, and of voice in particular, in fashioning mental geographies. Thus Andrea F. Bohlman approaches Polish legion songs about Crimea as a political technology for redrawing national boundaries; Karnes interprets a Latvian album as “exploding associations” between the peoples and spaces of Eastern Europe; and Delia Casadei explains that the war gave Italians the opportunity to hear (and mishear) voices of the would-be nation from the outside, and so conjure them in proto-national form. A now remote but important scholarly model for these chapters is Steven Feld’s ethnographic studies, which homed in on the interconnection of voice, sensing, and place.⁵⁴ We should also flag up more recent precedents in Katherine Bergeron’s discussion of phonetics in the “mouth’s complex geography” in mid-nineteenth-century French *mélodie*; and Mary Ann Smart’s insight, worked into a proposition by Martha Feldman, that “voice is nothing if not relational, always situated at boundaries.”⁵⁵ Compatible with this notion are chapters in this book that illustrate ways in which voice articulates relations between self and other, inside and outside, here and there, while also possessing the power to disrupt and remake these fundamental spatial and political distinctions.

⁵¹ On the relation between war and cosmopolitanism, see Srinivas Aravamudan, “Introduction: Perpetual War,” *Periodical of the Modern Language Association* 124/5 (2009), 1505–14.

⁵² Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Penguin, [1978] 2003); Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 176–79; Damien Mahiet, Mark Ferraguto, and Rebekah Ahrendt, “Introduction,” *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), 1–18.

⁵³ Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, trans. Brian Massumi (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1985), 6–9; Schafer, *The Soundscape*, 73–78.

⁵⁴ Steven Feld, “Waterfalls of Song: An Acoustemology of Place Resounding in Bosavi, Papua New Guinea,” in *Senses of Place*, ed. Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1996), 91–136.

⁵⁵ Katherine Bergeron, *Voice Lessons: French Mélodie in the Belle Époque* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 94; Mary-Ann Smart, “Callas Listening,” *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 9 (2005), 106–10; Martha Feldman, “The Interstitial Voice: An Opening,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 68/3 (2015), 658.

Silence . . .

Bruce Smith's *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (1999) excavated the sonic environment of Shakespeare's England and stands out as an early model for the kind of scholarly endeavor this book pursues.⁵⁶ More closely related to the topic at hand, though, is Mark M. Smith's interrogation of the soundscapes of the American Civil War. His *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America* (2001) reconstructed experiences of war by way of the sonic traces left by written accounts:

Time and again the imagery of how each section [i.e., the American North and South] sounded was recorded first in the ear, then in a print version that stripped the sounds of their nuance and replaced them with a clumsy, written representation, thus giving readers access to a captured record of sectional aurality that they in turn could repeat with their voices to other ears.⁵⁷

Smith outlined the dynamic interplay between ear, voice, and page, only one of which the historian may access. In their denuded form as writing, sonic experiences become metaphors, "crystallized [. . .] in remarkably clear and candid [aural images]," Smith wrote.⁵⁸ In this way, he managed to tease out the threat of industrial progress perceived by slaveholders in the American South within the noises of war, while those same sounds were welcomed by southern slaves as "the melody of victory."⁵⁹ In other words, he demonstrated that the boundaries between sound on and off the battlefield are always blurred, and there is an ever present, heightened parallax introduced to wartime sound because of conflicting perspectives and political purposes.

Writing in 2001, in advance of a wave of scholarship on the history of sound, Smith likened the task to switching on several lights at once in a dark room: the sources of sound are manifold and overwhelming in their cumulative effect. Smith's recommendation was that sound scholars choose their switches carefully, proceeding methodically and selectively. Nearly two decades on, his

⁵⁶ Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); for another widely cited example of exploring historical soundscapes, in another context, see Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside*, trans. Martin Thom (London: Macmillan, [1995] 1998).

⁵⁷ Mark M. Smith, *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 8.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 196.

advice speaks to a continued feeling of unease about doing sound history: that sound's ubiquity makes it damagingly promiscuous as an object of study, too yielding to the ideas the scholar may wish to apply, too responsive to the light switches she may choose to flip. As though to circumvent this danger, various theoretical advances have been proposed over the intervening years, amounting to a sea change in how scholars approach sounds of the past: not as an objective totality that precedes the perceiver (the sound-flooded space of Murray Schafer's "soundscape," for example), but as the co-production of perceiver and perceived, involving countless affordances between humans, technology, and environment. Emily Thompson's *The Soundscape of Modernity* (2002) examines early-twentieth-century America by way of technologies for sound, showing how "modern" sonic experience was negotiated by musical patterns of attention and innovations in acoustic science.⁶⁰ Along similar lines, Jonathan Sterne investigates the progressive externalization of human ears during the nineteenth century in *The Audible Past* (2003), and the use of audile technique to transduce sound by way of various forms of writing.⁶¹ These means of inscription themselves transformed the nature of sound, according to Sterne, perhaps most conspicuously through creating a division between original sounds (sounding presence) and their traces—and later in the nineteenth century, between originals and their reproductions.

This focus on technology has, among other things, denaturalized sound—it is not simply "out there" to be retrieved—and has made the complex and fluid media of perception central to conceptions of the historical soundscape. And yet Smith's methodological quandary persists. It may be impossible to know whether historical sounds are in some way representative of the past, or to a greater or lesser extent random in their persistence in archives and cultural memory. To put it another way, if we seek out the sounds of the past, how can we be sure to notice significant *absences* of sound? It seems that the historian must always leave open the possibility of finding silence less metaphorical in kind. Beyond evocations of silence by historical actors, there is an infinitely vaster silence left by sounds that have disappeared altogether, and that may be much more difficult to notice than those which, for one reason or another, have left a more permanent trace. We might call this second-order absence an archival silence, to refer to historical experiences of sound (this would include now vanished evocations and impositions of silence) that have since been forgotten and become otherwise irretrievable. While the frailty of memory usually takes the

⁶⁰ Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity*, 33–50.

⁶¹ Sterne, *The Audible Past*, 32–35. Animal ears were also investigated and increasingly conceived as detachable; see Jonathan Sterne, *MP3: The Meaning of a Format* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 61–91.

position of an explanatory default when it comes to this kind of silence, there may be other reasons why historians encounter silence where there ought to be, or where they might expect, sonic traces. This kind of archival silence corresponds to what Jacques Derrida called the archiviolithic: the destructive force that brings about loss within the archive, through inciting “forgetfulness, amnesia, and the annihilation of memory.”⁶²

This silencing force delineates complex historical itineraries across the present book. It seems that, depending on where and when in the world we choose to direct our ears, we encounter a greater or lesser heft and/or availability of historical materials pertaining to wartime sound. This effect is no less true of traditional venues of historical research, such as libraries and archives, than of the digital repositories that have partially and unevenly reproduced them.⁶³ There are, self-evidently, fault lines in memory according to different national and imperial histories, as well as diverse cultural engagements with archival and media technologies.⁶⁴ In the case of the Crimean War, we find rehearsed in sonic terms the truism that history is often told, and so now frequently heard, from the victor’s perspective: that of Western Europe, particularly the perspectives of Britain and France, in whose archives countless materials are stored, and in whose tongues the history of the war has overwhelmingly been written and read.⁶⁵ My introduction has doubtless betrayed this perspectival bent. However, as I have drawn on French musical instruments and British phonograph records, I have nevertheless been attempting to unsettle the dominance of British and French accounts. Other contributors to this volume, seeking to explore different aural vantage points, have also been obliged to read imperial accounts against the grain.

Yet the question of interpretation—what to do with archival silence—remains contentious, and in fact provides a point of divergence between contributors to this volume. Once we have established that certain sounds are absent from the archive, itself no straightforward task, we are left with scholarly and ethical choices. We can, for example, choose to understand archival silence in historical terms, as the ruptures and absence produced by acts of silencing. The prosecution of war may itself efface sonic experiences (along with many other,

⁶² Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 11.

⁶³ On this topic, see Benjamin Walton, “Quirk Shame,” *Representations* 132/1 (2015), 121–29.

⁶⁴ For a skeptical view of the power of archives, see Richard Thomas, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), 1–10; on the dispersal of sonic archive in colonial contexts, see Anna María Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Columbia* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 3–4.

⁶⁵ Figs also remarks on the traditional dominance of British and French accounts, and on the need to consider Russian and Ottoman accounts; see his *Crimea*, xxiv.

more obviously important things) of certain groups, such as the Tatars, who underwent mass displacement during the Crimean War.⁶⁶ Another response is to take archival silences as an opportunity for advocacy, in attempting a scholarly act of recovery, or unsilencing. As ethnomusicologist Ana María Ochoa Gautier has argued, and as Sonevytsky discusses in her chapter in this volume, music may be particularly useful for such acts of unsilencing because its complex social ontology provides multiple opportunities to recover aspects of under-heard historical cultures and experiences.⁶⁷ Reading people from the sounds that remain tends to put the scholar in the position of doubting herself: endemic uncertainty as to whether she might be over-interpreting, thus giving the idea of “overhearing” a double meaning, as Sonevytsky’s chapter points out. The problem of overhearing (and the hermeneutics of suspicion it unleashes) becomes inevitable when sonic evidence is lacking, but is a pervasive concern. As witnessed throughout this book, historical actors and communities are frequently encoded and obscured by the making of “sounds”—the reification of aural experiences performed by particular people at particular times and places—which often serve as metonyms for the social bodies from which they emanate. Archival silence, the absence of sounds and silences, becomes immediately political. It has forced contributors in this volume to develop their own ways of negotiating an unbounded and inscrutable realm.

... And Archives

That these problems should arise in a book on sound history may not come as a surprise. Such conundrums have beset historical writing on music, and historical writing more generally, for many decades. The illusions sponsored by imperial archives will be familiar to readers versed in subaltern studies and feminist theory. Familiar too will be some of the strategies we have pursued in attempting to correct, or at least draw attention to, institutional biases in what gets preserved, archived, and narrated—but that, ultimately, create an unresolvable tension across the present book: between our focus on nineteenth-century wartime sound and the recovery of aural perspectives of women and others. The idea that archives might yield up counter-histories, or that we can read them “against the grain,” has a long pedigree, in particular the postcolonial problem of giving density to the subaltern in historical accounts. Writing in the 1980s, Ranajit

⁶⁶ Mara Kozelsky, “Casualties of Conflict: Crimean Tatars during the Crimean War,” *The Slavic Review* 67/4 (2008), 866–91.

⁶⁷ See Ochoa Gautier, “Silence,” in *Keywords in Sound*, ed. David Novak and Matt Sakakeeny (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 183–92.

Guha notably argued that an opportunity for archival recovery was inherent in a dialectical relationship between oppressor and oppressed. For him, ripples in routines of power could be read as signs of colonial violence.⁶⁸ Also advocating an askew perspective on archives, although taking a different approach, Gayatri Spivak called attention to the (necessarily strange) ways in which the subaltern can make herself understood. In a celebrated essay, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” (1988), Spivak described the problematic listening engendered by subaltern narratives and invented a mode of archival reading on the lookout for (at least partly) unreadable gestures, especially those of subaltern women.⁶⁹

Within the sprawling interdisciplinary field of sound studies, the legacies of postcolonial theory might be acknowledged as providing a link to enduring problems. As the title of Spivak’s essay suggests, and as postcolonial theory bears out, listening and silence have long been master tropes for critics of imperialism and patriarchy, both in diagnosing operations of violence (as in the cliché of the silence of the archive) and in articulating modes of redress. There are, for example, countless contemporary academic projects enjoining us to listen to unheard or under-heard voices of the past.⁷⁰ Much more could be said about the complex aurality of feminism and postcolonial theory, requiring exertions beyond the remit of this book. However, the contributions gathered here suggest that histories of sound are well placed to inherit from postcolonial theory and to participate in its broader re-evaluation across the humanities.

Prescient in this regard, or now it seems, was Antoinette Burton’s *Dwelling in the Archive* (2003). Although her book did not deal with sound directly—her focus was rather the exclusion of women’s stories from public archives in late-nineteenth-century colonial India—Burton’s approach to the problem of archives can be usefully revisited here. The disciplinary stakes she outlined may seem all too familiar to historical musicologists and historically inclined practitioners of sound studies. Faced with growing, widespread impatience

⁶⁸ Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).

⁶⁹ Reproduced in Rosalind Morris, ed., *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

⁷⁰ There have been some striking reactions against this trend, however. A group of historians of slavery and the Black Atlantic have called time on what they call the “Question of Recovery.” They argue that, while the building of black archives has been vital to twentieth-century campaigns for liberation, the recovery of such voices as a political project should be called into question. Rather than strain against archival silence, we would do better to accept the generative tension between recovery as an imperative “fundamental to historical writing and research” and the “impossibility of recovery when engaged with archives whose very assembly and organization occlude certain historical subjects.” See Laura Helton et al., “The Question of Recovery: An Introduction,” *Social Text* 125 33/4 (2015), 1–18.

with postcolonial theory among contemporary historians, along with widespread demands for retrenchment within long-furrowed archives, Burton declared that “[s]cholars like Said and Spivak have not dispensed with the archive. More unsettling by far to traditions of imperial history (especially in Britain), they have insisted on it as the unstable ground of imperial desire and colonial power [. . .].”⁷¹ Shifting focus on to sound, a supposedly more evanescent category of inquiry, does not avoid the problem of engaging the archive. On the contrary, the presumed omnipresence of sound can make it a much more imperious term of historical investigation, stimulating fresh illusions of incontrovertible knowledge and historical completeness. Yet there is another aspiration that may be discerned amid the turn to sound, which, as an area of knowledge and experience can call into question what an archive is in the first place: the forms of power and desire that attend its constitution. As others have pointed out, there is no one place to begin looking for sounds of the past. In *The Singing of the New World* (2007), Gary Tomlinson has described the scattered nature of Aztec sounds in the following terms: “The European domestication of Mexican speech, song, and writing exemplifies a broadly dispersed discursive adjunct to European conquest, colonization, enslavement, and even extermination of native Americans.”⁷² Tomlinson is dealing with an extreme example, of course. However, the dispersive and often incidental quality of sonic traces across and between archives—which may be official repositories, though are often more heterogeneous and personal in nature—is a widespread phenomenon, which often calls our attention to the political forces that attend archival preservations.

A case in point here, among many that could be singled out, are the sounds captured “incidentally” through nurses’ accounts of the Crimean War. The names of some of the authors are well known. Already mentioned above, Florence Nightingale penned her proposals to modernize nursing practice in documents that turn out to be, beyond their stated purpose, a landmark in creating silence at the bedside of hospital convalescents (as Hillel Schwartz has pointed out elsewhere; see also his chapter in this volume).⁷³ There are countless travelogues and autobiographies, providing abundant if indirect resources of sounds, such as the memoirs of Mary Seacole, the Jamaican nurse and

⁷¹ Annette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House and Home in Late Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 141.

⁷² Gary Tomlinson, *The Singing of the New World: Indigenous Voice in the Era of European Contact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 18.

⁷³ Hillel Schwartz, “Inner and Outer Sancta: Ear Plugs and Hospitals,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Sound Studies*, ed. Trevor Pinch and Karin Bijsterveld (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 273–97.

hotelier who established a restaurant in Balaklava during the Crimean War. Seacole unfortunately receives zero coverage in this book, although the unusualness of an autobiography advancing the perspective of a Jamaican-British woman of the mid-nineteenth century has been discussed elsewhere.⁷⁴ No less remarkable, though less often mentioned, is the *Autobiography of Elizabeth Davis* (1857): the life story of a domestic servant who grew up in Merioneth in North Wales. Her birth name was Betsi Cadwaladyr and her mother tongue was Welsh, although she learned English in her teens, following her dramatic escape to Liverpool around the turn of the nineteenth century. Toward the end of a remarkable life, during which she crisscrossed continents on board merchant ships, she traveled to Crimea to work as a nurse and found herself in charge of an enormous hospital kitchen. Her autobiography reaches its climax in Crimea, and in doing so arrives at a critique of Nightingale's failure to distribute vast stockpiles of charitable supplies to wounded and sick British soldiers.

A unique vista onto mid-nineteenth-century migrant labor, Cadwaladyr's autobiography can also tell us something important about the incidental yet thoroughly political nature of sonic inscription, storage, and preservation. Dwelling a moment longer over her book can, more generally, help explain the structural precariousness of women's sounds in the present volume. As sensational as Cadwaladyr's accusations about Nightingale were in 1857, what strikes us now are the conditions of possibility that conspired to make her life writeable. After collapsing with exhaustion in Crimea, and following her return to the Britain in 1856 at age sixty-seven, Cadwaladyr met the pioneering historian of Wales Jane Williams, who conducted a series of interviews that enabled Williams to write Cadwaladyr's biography, relayed throughout in the latter's first-person perspective, probably in Welsh. In a preface, Williams described her method of reassembling Cadwaladyr's story:

A cursory reader may suppose that the writer had merely to listen and record, but the task of preparing the narrative has really involved much care and labour. To seize the first floating end of each subject that chanced to present itself, to draw it out, to disentangle it, to piece it, to set the warp straight and firmly in the loom, and to cast the woof aright so as to produce the true and original pattern of tapestry, has required

⁷⁴ See Lynn McDonald, *Mary Seacole: The Making of a Myth* (London: Iguana, 2014). See also Francine Fernandes, "Injustice Anywhere Is a Threat to Justice Everywhere," *Political (Dis) Engagement: The Changing Nature of the 'Political'*, ed. Nathan Manning (Bristol: Policy Press, 2017), 213–15.

sedulous application. The winding of silk worms' cocoons without a reel, is scarcely a task of more difficult manipulation.⁷⁵

A modern-day ethnographer would take issue with Williams' metaphor, which cast Cadwaladyr in a passive role; the autobiography emerged through interaction, including mutual listening and speaking. Yet, one measure of Williams' commitment to the task of reproducing Cadwaladyr's voice, as she heard it, is the difference in register between her usual literary style (in evidence in the preceding extract) and the choppy, relatively unadorned prose that relates the events of Cadwaladyr's life. Another metric is the role of particular "sounds," which feature copiously in Williams's ethnographic introduction (and characterize Cadwaladyr's national and religious formation as the distinctive product of Welsh Methodist culture), but only rarely appear in Cadwaladyr's own life history.⁷⁶ And yet, "sound" as a medium of communication features vividly, if more indirectly, in the latter, through the polyphony of voices Cadwaladyr remembers, and Williams conveys, in snippets of conversation.

At this point, I could comb through the few examples in which Cadwaladyr, via Williams, mentions particular sonic experiences: an exercise that might ultimately reveal something about the aurality of working-class women's culture in the nineteenth century. However, it is perhaps more important to notice that, while Williams expends literary and ethnographic energies on writing the "sounds" of Cadwaladyr's past, Cadwaladyr's own attention is mainly directed elsewhere. The desire of the historian and the ethnographer clearly revolves around isolating sounds and voices—unwinding silken cocoons, to borrow Williams's words—and such scholarly desires make the act of listening to voices of the archive both problematic and, more fundamentally, possible. We can never hear Cadwaladyr's voice, however much we strain, but the unusual archive established by the cooperation of these women does something even more astonishing. It allows us to witness sounds and voices taking shape through a

⁷⁵ Deirdre Beddoe, "Introduction," *The Autobiography of Elizabeth Davis: A Balaclava Nurse, Daughter of Dafydd Cadwaladyr*, by Elizabeth Davis and Jane Williams (Cardiff, UK: Honno, 1987), xiii.

⁷⁶ Here is a sample of Jane Williams' quasi-ethnographic approach to sounds: "Few persons who have chanced to travel through the Principality can forget the sight of Welshwomen knitting with unremitting industry while walking along the roads carrying heavy burdens upon their heads. [...] matrons and maidens would assemble together in some pleasant nook [...] and] ply their work with busy fingers, and sing together the sweet national airs of their country, pausing at times to relate to each other some wild legendary tale, connected by tradition either with the place or with the tune. On such occasions Cadwaladyr's daughter [i.e., Betsi] was often a listener, though forbidden to attend their regular meetings." Williams, *Elizabeth Davis*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857), 26.

tense interaction: the messy intersubjectivity of listening as it makes itself manifest on the page.

Cadwaladyr's/Williams' *Autobiography* also reminds us of a challenge bequeathed to sound history by feminist and postcolonial thought: not to succumb to the fantasy that, by including Others (women, the subaltern, and so on) in the stories we tell about the past, we will one day arrive at an all-encompassing History. As Burton pointed out, "[t]riumphalism about the capacity of history—including feminist history—to see all its subjects effectively reproduces the discourses of surveillance and total vision that underwrote colonial modernity and its political manifestations, history prime among them."⁷⁷ If we substitute hearing for seeing, the relevance becomes clear. "Embracing [such wide-angle history] would require us to participate in the hubris of the panopticon rather than face the ultimate fragmentation and ghostliness of all archives [. . .]."⁷⁸ This warning from the not-so-distant scholarly past could, with small adjustment, be made for the current turn to sound, as new archives are everywhere mined and written into being.

Humanism

This book is no exception, of course. It simultaneously addresses and brings into existence a sonic archive of the Crimean War. Yet the sounds that we mine may also undermine scholarly protocols of collection and comparison, and not only for the reasons just outlined. Our focus on sound in wartime faces another basic challenge, calling into question an habitual association between sound and human presence, often conjured in the figure of a listener of some kind. This representational logic has been called into question in the wake of the 2003 Iraq War: such "phenomenological anthropocentrism," to borrow Steve Goodman's term, can break down under wartime conditions.⁷⁹ The metonymy that connects sound to the human may snap, as sounds become detachable from, even inimical to, humans and their experience of the world. Although this issue has received attention largely in relation to wars of the present day and recent past, we might briefly outline its contours. In an article published in 2006, Suzanne Cusick

⁷⁷ Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive*, 143.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 143–44.

⁷⁹ ". . . [T]he phenomenological anthropocentrism of almost all musical and sonic analysis, obsessed with individualized, subjective feeling, denigrates the vibrational nexus at the altar of human audition, thereby neglecting the agency distributed around the vibrational encounter and ignoring the nonhuman participants of the nexus of experience." Steve Goodman, *Sonic Warfare: Sound, Affect and the Ecology of Fear* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009), 82.

has explored music's use as an instrument of torture in Guantánamo Bay: in an attempt to erode resistance, prisoners of war and alleged terrorists were routinely subjected by their US captors to heavily amplified music, blasted loudly enough to deprive them of sleep and cause pain.⁸⁰ Cusick considered the cultural meanings generated by violent, masculinist rock as it was (and elsewhere no doubt still is) channeled for the purposes of torture; but she also indicated a particular fold within musical representation, as sounds become inseparable from the harm they do, and harming others becomes perversely musical. Along parallel tracks, J. Martin Daughtry has considered the functions of sound in Iraqi wartime.⁸¹ On the basis of interviews with returning American soldiers and Iraqi non-combatants, Daughtry has signaled the ways that "[w]artime violence besieges the sensorium, introducing empathic and corporeal pain into bodies and forcing subjects to confront their radical finitude."⁸² He has even invented a term, *thanatosonics*, to mark the threshold at which sound no longer affects bodies positively, but attends their destruction.

The most philosophically trenchant account of this destructive dimension of sound is Steve Goodman's *Sonic Warfare: Sound, Affect, and the Ecology of Fear* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009), which examines the use of sound in military conflicts to generate fear. Goodman takes his cue from the Israeli army's use of sound bombs over the Gaza Strip. The use of overwhelming vibrations, decoupled from the explosions that would normally accompany them, has led to virtualization of fear, sound's use as a weapon in its own right.⁸³ As Goodman argues, sonic assaults (including sound bombs) induce fearful feelings, intercepting us at a pre-individual level. Detectable across a range of contemporary cultural phenomena, not only in war, sonic warfare is, Goodman defines it,

the use of force, both seductive and violent, abstract and physical, via a range of acoustic machines (biotechnical, social, cultural, artistic, conceptual), to modulate the physical, affective, and libidinal dynamics of populations, of bodies, of crowds.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Suzanne G. Cusick, "Music as Torture/Music as Weapon," *Trans: Revista Transcultural de Música* 10 (2006), <<http://www.sibetrans.com/trans/articulo/152/music-as-torture-music-as-weapon>>, accessed 4 Apr. 2016; in a subsequent article Cusick pointed out that the use of sound in torture can be deployed *musically*, thereby calling into question cherished beliefs about the innocence of musicology's object of study; see her "Musicology, Torture, Repair," *Radical Musicology* 3 (2008): 24 paragraphs, <<http://www.radical-musicology.org.uk>>, accessed 5 Sept. 2015, §11.

⁸¹ J. Martin Daughtry, *Listening to War: Sound, Music, Trauma, and Survival in Wartime Iraq* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); J. Martin Daughtry, "Thanatosonics: Ontologies of Acoustic Violence," *Social Text* 32/2 (2014), 25–51.

⁸² Daughtry, "Thanatosonics," 25.

⁸³ Goodman, *Sonic Warfare*, xiii.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

It is worth underscoring the eccentricity of Goodman's position, which stands out within the broader discussion on music, sound, and war. Unlike Cusick and Daughtry, he avoids discussion of experience and all supposedly anthropocentric understandings of listening and hearing. Coming from the Deleuzian tradition, he takes it as read that sound affects us, and other entities, in ways that both precede and go beyond conscious knowing. He outlines instead an ontology of "vibrational force," in which inaudible sound, even potential sound, is on par with the narrow strip of sounds that humans may claim to hear.

A philosopher by training, Goodman has thrown down a gauntlet to musicology and sound studies, which remain broadly humanist in their (inter)disciplinary orientations. *Sonic Warfare* challenges us to expand our remit beyond music and sound, to include sounds that were never heard, or perhaps never sounded, but may nevertheless have had vital consequences. I have already described one scenario from the Crimean War that might stand as an example of what Goodman describes, in the form of Adolphe Sax's enhanced musical armory; I have suggested that, while saxophones remained largely beyond the realm of perception in 1850s wartime, they nonetheless belong to transnational context of empires at war. This point might seem, at first glance, a decidedly twenty-first-century academic formulation. But consider Figure I.1, which shows one "use of the saxophone during wartime": to blast an enemy soldier in the face.⁸⁵ It is telling that the instrument shown here is not in fact a saxophone. This cartoon is probably based on a descriptive account, the reed mouthpiece and the finger holes along the shaft hinting at an imaginative extrapolation, so demonstrating the instrument's discursive presence before it became an audible and visible phenomenon. Appearing in *Le Charivari*, Paris's major satirical newspaper, and following a string of decisive victories for France, the image calls attention to the pomp of Sax's modernized military band, an institution by now deemed a needless presence in battle.

The noisiness of Figure I.1 sticks in the mind. It imagines the overwhelming effect that sound can have over the enemy. This fictional saxophone gestures beyond humanistic listening to an idea of music as force, pointing to deeper complicities between military action and instrument building—complicities that were aural in kind, even as they evaded audible experience. Although never realized, two further inventions were dreamed up by Sax during the Crimean War. One was the Saxotonnerre: a mammoth organ whose pipes were to be driven by a locomotive engine; Sax claimed it would have been loud enough to broadcast Meyerbeer's overtures throughout Paris.⁸⁶ Another, also

⁸⁵ Charles Vernier, lithograph, "De l'utilité du saxophone en temps de guerre," *Le Charivari* (15 Nov. 1854).

⁸⁶ According to the *Revue Gazette Musicale*, the instrument would be "operated by vibrating blades, submitted to pressure of four or five atmospheres. The blades are huge steel bars vibrating

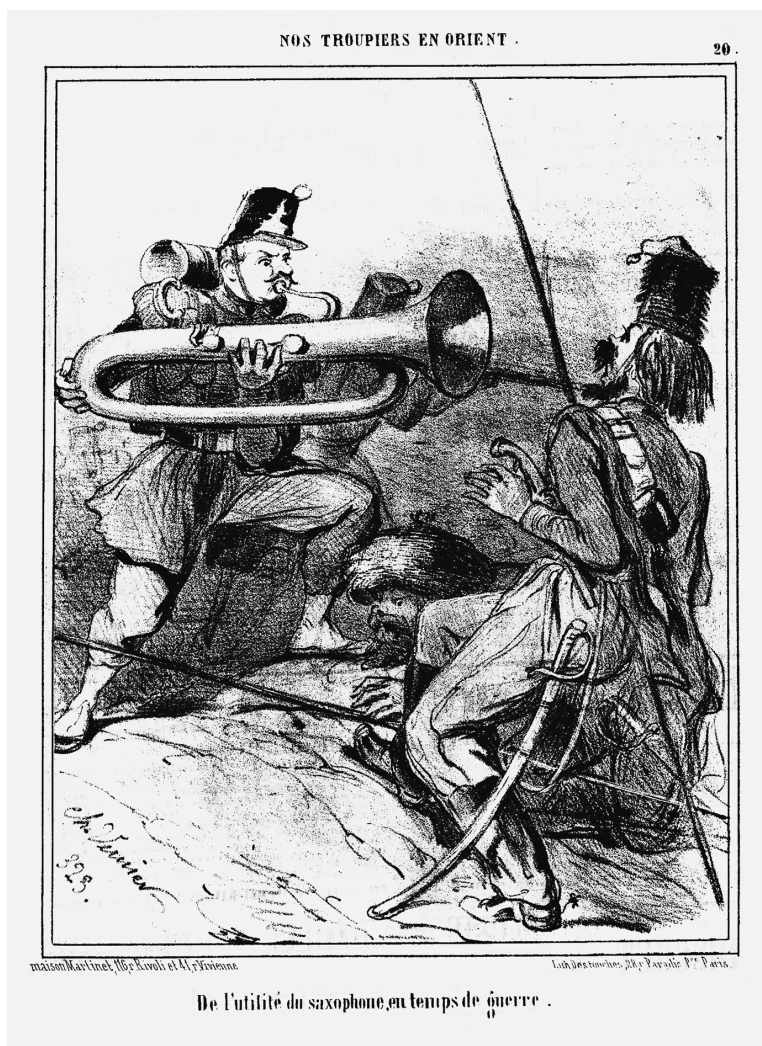


Figure I.1 Charles Vernier (illustrator), “De l'utilité du saxophone en temps de guerre” [On the use of the saxophone during wartime]. *Le Charivari* (Paris: 15 Nov. 1854), 20.

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citywide in intended address, was a cannon with a shaft ten meters in diameter, capable of firing round shot weighing half a ton over a mile in distance.⁸⁷

under high pressure.” Michael Segell, *The Devil's Horn: The Story of the Saxophone; From Noisy Novelty to the King of Cool* (New York: Picador, 2005), 27. See also Leon Kochnitzky, *Adolphe Sax and His Saxophone* (New York: Belgian Government Information Center, 1949), 40.

⁸⁷ Cottrell, *Saxophone*, 17.

Thereby, Sax envisioned a technical solution to protracted sieges such as the one seemingly never ending at Sevastopol, ongoing for nearly a year at the time he designed the weapon. Just a few missiles from the Saxocannon would have been enough to raze an average-sized city to the ground. The Saxocannon and Saxotonnere were never built, but might have been. They belong to a genealogy of ever more powerful instruments, at once imaginary and conceivable, that also include latter-day innovations such as electric loudspeakers, sound bombs, and perhaps even bunker-buster missiles. Such an organology would gather sound machines that transcend humanist concerns, pointing toward a history in which vibration would figure less as the basis for experience, more as its annihilating double.

The connection, through the activities of Adolphe Sax, between the invention of musical instruments and the design of weapons might give us pause. It suggests, among other things, that proximity between real and imaginary objects forms an important vector to the politics of music and sound: a dimension that cannot be recovered solely from the perspectives of listeners, but must be inferred from the residues of affective phenomena that inhabit cultural archives in unpredictable ways. Sound, in this sense, is not always heard, and so sonic histories should not necessarily be restricted to the audible realm. This lack of restriction is, of course, easier imagined than it is to trace historically. In the present book, which is more concerned with acts of listening, affective experience nevertheless hovers at the edges. Fuller descriptions of the chapters will shortly follow, but first a word on submerged connections between them in this regard.

For writers in this volume, affect is understood as inseparable from the media epistemologies that wartime engenders.⁸⁸ Alyson Tapp, for example, discusses Tolstoy's writings on the Crimean War, showing how sensory partitions (epistemology) are intimately connected with their affect (ontology). On Tolstoy's battlefield, cannon fire "shakes not just the ear organ, but your whole being"—his vibrational ontology is prepared and sustained by nineteenth-century assumptions about the behavior of sound. By the same token, Flora Willson considers the opera house in Constantinople as a mediating site through which wartime violence was perceived and structured. Taking in a panoply of wartime sounds, Hillel Schwartz juxtaposes the noises of the Crimean front alongside whistling in Russia and popping champagne corks in Britain, and many other resonances besides. Emphasizing the non-signifying elements of these sounds, Schwartz posits their common basis in potential energy: their culturally determined preexistence as sounds about to explode.

⁸⁸ Favret, *War at a Distance*, 12.

Unmaking Sense

In charting a zigzag course through the themes of this book, this introduction has tried to give a sense of the scholarly orbits within which the chapters move. There are still more ways to navigate through the chapters, which are of course linked by their focus on the Crimean War as a historical event, but also share common themes and approaches. In the first part, “Sound, Technology, Sense,” the book’s first four chapters deal with the technical mediation of sound in different political and cultural contexts. Dina Gusejnova opens with “Sympathy and Synesthesia: Tolstoy’s Place in the Intellectual History of Cosmopolitan Spectatorship,” a wide-ranging assessment of humanist interpretations of war in the European sentimental tradition (and in its aftermath); she aims to tease out Tolstoy’s contribution to war writing in terms of the literary mediation of sensations such as sounds, notably through the novel. Peter McMurray’s chapter, “The Revolution Will Not Be Telegraphed: Shari’a Law as Mediascape,” explores the war as a sonically and telegraphically mediated event in the south and northwest Black Sea region, in particular in the Caucasian Imamate and the Ottomans Empire. My chapter, “Gunfire and London’s Media Reality: Listening to Distance between Piano, Newspaper, and Theater,” homes in on the pervasive representation of gunfire across different media forms in London in late 1854. Bringing this part to a close, Maria Sonevytsky in “Overhearing Indigenous Silence: Crimean Tatars during the Crimean War” submits to scrutiny the relative lack of historical sources pertaining to Crimean Tatar experiences of the war.

The linking concepts that shape this first part are broad and return throughout the book; they include the historical production of sensory experience, cultural memory, and technologies of the archive. This part opens with explorations of sonic mediation, then broaches mediation’s steady erasure and the reality of archival loss. Hence Gusejnova surveys the literary evidence of the slow and uneven encroachment of cosmopolitan tendencies in late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European societies. She argues that multichannel sensory experiences generated through literary montage, and later on through film montage, were a historical and cognitive emergence. In other words, she aims to show that there is a fundamental connection, at the level of the senses, between war and nineteenth-century forms of cosmopolitanism: greater understanding between people was driven, in part, by violent wartime encounters, as well as their literary, visual, and sonic mediation. Similarly concerned with the political uses of sounds, McMurray makes innovative use of legal sources to recover aspects of the sonic past, by comparing contemporaneous societal reforms stimulated by the war in Turkey, Daghestan, and Chechnya. He argues that sound, voice,

and telegraphy played a foundational role in anchoring new laws as issuing from authoritative bodies: ultimately those of the Sultan and the Imam. By positing these figures as unattainable acoustic origins, McMurray shows how sound and communication media became mutually reinforcing practices, simultaneously transmitting the content of legal reforms and the furnishing the cultural codes by which they were understood. My chapter is also concerned with the operations of historical media. It argues that theaters, newspapers, and printed music were mutually inflecting domains in wartime London: areas of sonic knowledge and experience that gave particular significance to musical and sonic simulations of the battlefield both at home and in the urban public sphere. I consider the implications of this historical mediation of wartime sound, and try to show that the macabre fascination produced by gunfire was linked to the invisibility of low-ranking soldiers. Whereas I consider the politics of representation, Sonevskytilts her investigation toward the politics of a lack of representation. By probing the slender archive left by Crimean Tatar songs, she attempts to recover experiences that have disappeared from cultural archives, in large part because the Tatars were subject to Russian imperial powers. Sonevsky asks what can be done by historians, and by activists, with memories preserved through sound, ultimately turning her attention toward Russia's present-day annexation of Crimea and contemporary efforts to use musical memory as a means of political resistance.

In the next part, "Voice at the Border," Andrea F. Bohlman's chapter, "Orienting the Martial: Polish Legion Songs on the Map," also foregrounds the question of archival loss; but the common focus between her contribution and those in the book's second part is the role of voices, both spoken and sung, in defining geographical boundaries during wartime. In exploring the fragmented archive represented by Polish military involvement in the Crimean War, Bohlman mulls evocations of military might in legion songs. She argues that these songs were a political technology for preserving and promoting Polish nationhood and creating a virtual landscape for the cultivation of a future homeland, while also, more pragmatically, stimulating nationalist sentiment both at home and abroad. In "Who Sings the Song of the Russian Soldier? Listening for the Sounds and Silence of War in Baltic Russia," Kevin Karnes examines the war's less eventful and often overlooked Baltic theater. He considers conscription, encampment, combat, and mourning as defining events that structured the experiences of hundreds of thousands of Russian soldiers stationed on the Baltic Coast, homing in on the broader effects of militarization in Latvia in particular. As Karnes shows, the mass mobilization of Russian troops occasioned many first encounters: between culturally heterogeneous Romanov subjects; between "Russians" and Europeans from the West; between Europeans both Eastern and Western as well as non-European others. Finally, Delia Casadei's chapter, "A voice that

carries,” likewise addresses the geopolitical uses of aurality, by sketching a history of Italy “as heard from the outside” during the war. She charts the ideology of the *bella voce* as means of projecting and disrupting national boundaries, both in the years before national unification and, even more so, by way of literary accounts that came later in the nineteenth century.

Such experiences served to refashion mental geographies of Europe, altering its ever shifting boundaries at the mid-century. Karnes argues that listening to voices in wartime shattered associations between peoples and spaces within so-called Eastern Europe. Along similar lines, Bohlman argues that poems and songs served to sing a nation into being, redrawing a constantly shifting imaginary border between Poland and the imperial forces that kept it splintered. Similarly noting the capacity for voices to make (new) sense of geographical distinctions, Casadei asks what was at stake in the Sardinian troops’ ability to organize themselves, even to understand themselves, amid countless regional dialects. This problem was thrown into relief as the army set sail from the Italian peninsula. By following the voyage in literary accounts, Casadei uncovers a telling episode in the history of attending to Italian sounds: one in which voice and the capacity for language are fashioned into politicized and even oppositional terms.

In the third part, “Wartime as Heard,” the final chapters contemplate the ways aural perception was structured during the Crimean War. In “Operatic Battlefields, Theater of War,” Flora Willson explores how (mainly Italian) opera inflected listening for British officers and tourists on the move. At home and on the battlefield, and particularly in the spaces in between, opera became enmeshed in cycles of transport and mediation. Willson concentrates on operatic perceptions in and around the Pera district of Constantinople, the site of the city’s first opera house (a must-see for elite Britons en route to Crimea), as well as those associated with traveling military bands connected with the Ottoman imperial court. In the next chapter, “Earwitness: Sound and Sense-Making in Tolstoy’s *Sevastopol Stories*,” Alyson Tapp revisits one of the Crimean War’s most celebrated literary productions, the *Sevastopol Stories*, written while Tolstoy was serving as an officer in Crimea. Considering this key text (placed in a larger context by Gusejnova in “Sympathy and Synesthesia”) in more detail, Tapp interrogates the workings of sound in the *Stories*, elucidating the different valences of battlefield sound at degrees of remove from the war zone. From afar, battlefield sound in Tolstoy is both meaningless and often figured as musical; yet with increasing proximity it becomes a cipher for unmediated reality, and ultimately for truth, becoming a means to gesture toward authentic experiences of combat. Also concerned with aurality, but in a different vein, Hillel Schwartz’s chapter, “InConsequence: 1853–56,” deploys historical listening as critical and creative method. Beginning at the Crimean front, he discusses the pervasive whistling of dying horses—untold in number and often ignored in the face of the war’s many

human miseries—and goes on to pursue human and nonhuman whistlers in mid-century Russia and industrial Britain. Whistling thus generates a panoply of war-related homophones and connotations, inviting us to rehear, among other things, the decline of shrilling round shot on the battlefield and the ascendancy of spiraled, hissing bullets.

The three chapters in the final part can be read as a whirlwind tour of aesthetic distinctions across the Crimean War's sprawling territories. Beginning with the perceptions of Britons in Constantinople, it proceeds to Tolstoy's documentation of experiences on the Russian side of the front, and culminates in a comprehensive rehearing of the Crimean battlefield. Schwartz's tour de force ultimately transports us back to London, with an extended analysis of "Pop Goes the Weasel," one of the most whistled tunes in wartime Britain. Venturing an explanation for the refrain's ubiquity, Schwartz writes that its "lexical potential energy could be enlisted to do highly kinetic, cultural work in dozens of contexts"—contexts that were military, political, literary, and scientific, in which the very idea of potential energy was itself emergent. Vast shifts in the history of listening are subjected to interrogation in Tapp's and Willson's chapters, too. Willson examines elite perceptions of foreign battlefields and cityscapes to probe a grand, oft noted, and complicatedly global shift in the history of listening: that of middle-class audiences falling silent in theatrical spaces during the nineteenth century, supposedly with the intention of devoting concentrated attention to elite music. Willson argues that these listening habits, formed in part in the opera house, persisted well beyond its hallowed enclosures as war came to extend the complex geographies of attentive listening at the midcentury. Meanwhile, Tapp shows how Tolstoy, in his attempts to represent the ultimate truth of battlefield experience, cordoned off audible reality from its supposedly less immediate visual counterpart. He thus reproduced an audiovisual split already pervasive in nineteenth-century culture, and, as Tapp suggests, further deepens the rift through his literary refractions of war's overwhelming sounds.

This outline suggests one route through this book. The organizing themes drawn out above—organology, technologies of inscription, wartime, archival loss and silence, humanism—suggest others. When read together, the chapters combine to form a variegated geopolitical picture of the sounds of the Crimean War. But they may also prompt reflection on the sonic turn in musicology, literary studies, and the historical disciplines, as that turn accrues a history of its own. As we cycle through the themes of sonic mediation, a need grows to account for mediation's undoing: whether in considering sounds that have been lost over time, becoming un-mediated, absent, silent; or by heeding sounds that play an active part in their own demise, in destroying their own medium; or by encouraging listeners to forget through methods more or less coercive and violent. If sounds are made through complex relations between biological systems

and cultural processes involving technological media, then they can be undone by the same means. It becomes a priority that we should be able to account for the breakdown of sonic experience under particular historical, social, and political conditions.

This point touches on the aims and aspirations of sound studies as a historical discipline, whose agenda was set by Jonathan Sterne more than a decade ago. As he put it then, motivating his own focus on nineteenth-century sound technology, “the history of sound must move beyond recovering experiences to interrogating the conditions under which that experience became possible in the first place.”⁸⁹ Yet, as his manifesto wound to a close, he wrote, “the question of experience still lingers”—thus gesturing to the vexed puzzle of writing about sonic experience without succumbing to the illusion that such experience is separate from, or alien to, writing and other inscriptional acts and products. To think of sound with and as writing has proved an intractable and generative problem in sound studies in the twenty-first century.⁹⁰ Expanding notions of technology and “audile technique” to embrace writing of all kinds—as does Ana María Ochoa Gautier in *Aurality* (2014)—may allow us to appreciate the complexity of the issue. Ochoa Gautier seeks to extrapolate from nineteenth-century archival traces a means to explore “ontologies and epistemologies of the acoustic, particularly the voice, produced by and enmeshed in different audile techniques, in which sound appears simultaneously as a force that constitutes the world and a medium for constructing knowledge about it.”⁹¹ She aims to combine the inscriptional technologies that provide conditions of possibility for experience with a reconstruction of sound as a force and an agent within a particular historical and cultural order.

In contemporary histories of sound, the question of experience still lingers—to repeat Sterne’s melancholic, closing remark—as it must in all historical inquiry, not only in sound studies.⁹² And yet this observation should not give rise to regret. The impossible need of recovering experience has long been productive for thinking about sound and many other things besides. Reading sound as a force and an agent from the impressions it has left behind—inscriptions

⁸⁹ Sterne, *The Audible Past*, 28.

⁹⁰ On this problem, see the volume edited by Deborah Kapchan, *Theorizing Sound Writing* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan, 2017).

⁹¹ Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, 3.

⁹² In his classic study, Hayden White understood the representation of historical experience in the nineteenth century as a problem of realism; see his *The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), n13, 33. Meanwhile, Michel de Certeau famously characterized the historian’s acts of inscription as a way of marking the difference between present and past, and so “calming the dead who still haunt the present; see *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley ([1975] New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 2.

in wax, handwriting on paper, earth upturned on the battlefield—is a fraught scholarly endeavor, caught between more or less convincing appeals to plausibility, and more or less successful creative acts of synthesis and imagination. Yet it may be worth asking as much of technologies and inscriptions: that they tell us not only about conditions of possibility for sounds, but also the shaping of historical experiences, human and otherwise. Approached in this way, technologies and inscriptions can lead us away from “sounds” and toward what people and others have been able to make of them in different times and places: the technical, cultural, and social resources that go into producing sense in both its literal and figurative guises.⁹³ This connection between sound and making sense will be a constant theme, and a recurrent problem, throughout the present book. It can also serve as a transcoder for the chapters that follow, each of which suggests, in its own way, that we can observe the making of sound through the unmaking of sense that wartime brought about.

⁹³ Gilles Deleuze describes sense as the “frontier” that runs between sensation and sense-making; see his *The Logic of Sense*, trans. Constantin V. Boundas ([1969] London: Continuum, 2003), 35.